

Notes from Muhammadan Historians on Chutiá Nágpúr, Pachet, and Palámau.—By H. BLOCHMANN, Esq., M. A., CALCUTTA MADRASAH.

The hilly tracts in the south of Bihár, which comprise Palámau, Rámgarh, and Chutiá Nágpúr, are but rarely mentioned by Muhammadan Historians. The earlier histories which we possess, say nothing about them, and it was only during the Mughul Period, when further conquests in the East were impracticable, that the governors of Bengal and Bihár turned their attention to the territories of the independent Rájahs to the south of their province.

In the *Akbarnámah*, the whole tract from Bír bhúm and Pachet to Ratanpúr in Central India, and from Rohtásgarh in South Bihár to the frontier of Orísá, is called 'Jhárkhand,' or jungle land. There are several geographical names that have the same signification; we find them especially in such districts as are now inhabited by aboriginal races. Thus the Gond word *dongar* means 'a jungle,' 'wilderness,' and hence the numerous Dongars, Dongrís, Dongarpúrs, Dongargánws, Dongartáls, in Western and Central India. Even the word *bir* in Bír bhúm, notwithstanding the various etymologies which have been proposed, is, I believe, nothing else but the Mundárá *bir*, a forest.

The Rájahs of South Bihár and of the provinces along the Western frontier of Bengal gave the emperors of Dihlí a good deal of trouble. During the reign of Akbar, Gajpatí and his brother Bairí Sál, Rájahs of Jagdespúr, defied the Mughul armies for several years, though the unequal combat led to their entire destruction; Sangrá́m Sáh of K'harakpúr lost his life in a similar struggle, and his son and successors were forced to become converts to Islám; Rájah Dalpat of Bhojpúr, near Baksar (Buxar), was defeated and imprisoned, and when Akbar at length set him at liberty on payment of an enormous present, he again armed, and continued to rebel under Jahángír, till Bhojpúr was sacked, and his successor, Rájah Partáb, was executed by Sháhján, whilst the Rání was forced to marry a Muhammadan courtier.

About the same time Ratanpúr also submitted to 'Abdullah Khán, the conqueror of Bhojpúr. Gídhor and Chutiá Nágpúr succumbed to the first invader, and Púran Mall and Mádhú, the rájahs of the two principalities, were ordered to assist Akbar's armies in the conquest of Bengal and Orísá. Durjun Sál, Mádhú's successor was defeated and sent to Gwáliár. The Chero family of Palámau submitted on payment of a heavy *peshkash*, and nearly lost the *ráj* after the sack of Palámau in the beginning of Aurangzíb's reign.*

It is curious that Palámau and Rámgarh, though so near Rohtás, are not mentioned in Muhammadan Histories prior to the reign of Sháhjahán, whilst Chutiá Nágpúr which lies further to the south, much earlier attracted the notice of the Mughuls. The name 'Chota Nagpore' is known to be an English corruption of Chutiá Nágpúr. The fifth Report on Bengal Finances under the E. I. Company by Grant, or as he liked to style himself, Sarish-tahdár Grant, has still *Chutea Nagpur*; on Rennel's maps we find *Chuta Nagpour*, and only in modern times, do we find 'Chota Nágpúr,' as if it was the 'Lesser Nágpúr,' in contradistinction to the Nágpúr of the Central Provinces. But Chutiá (near the modern Ránchí) was the residence of the old Rájahs, and was selected as capital by the fourth in descent from Phaní Mukuta,† 'the serpent crowned,' the legendary ancestor of the Chutiá Nágvansí Rájahs. Abulfazl calls Chutiá Nágpúr by its old name, K o k r a h, which

* As several of the above facts have not found their way into our histories, it may be as well to indicate the sources. A perusal of the original passages is recommended to such as take an interest in Bihár History.

Regarding the Rájahs of Jagdespúr (S. W. of Árah), *vide* the Akbarnámah, Lucknow Edition, III., pp. 140, 162, and my Áin translation, pp. 399, 400, 498.

For the Rájahs of K'harakpúr, *vide* Proceedings, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1870, pp. 305 to 307; Ditto, for 1871, p. 98, and Journal, for 1871, pp. 22 to 27.

For the Rájahs of Bhojpúr, *vide* Akbarnámah, III, 804, 813, and Áin translation, p. 513; Tuzuk i Jahángirí (Sayyid Ahmád's Edition), pp. 83, 385; Pádisháhnámah, I., 221; I., b., 271 to 275. 305.

For the Rájahs of Ratanpúr, *vide* Pádisháhnámah, I., b., p. 74.

For Gídhor, *vide* Akbarnámah III, 84, 292.

The court of Dihlí did not recognize the titles of Rájahs that had not made their submission. Hence historians generally call them *Zamíndárs*. On submission, the title of Rájah was conferred. Similarly, the sovereign right of the kings of the Dak'hin was never acknowledged by the Mughuls; they were merely styled *dunyádár*, *hákim*, &c.

† 'Ethnology of India,' Supplementary Number, Journal A. S. Bengal, 1866, p. 162.

is still the name of one of its Parganahs. The Parganah is much broken up, and the parts are in different places far apart. It is spelt Khukra on the topographical Survey maps. The Rájah, Col. Dalton informs me, used to live at a place in Lat. 23° 20', Long. 88° 87, nearly, where there is still an old fort. Grant also uses the name *Kokera* as an equivalent for Chutiá Nágpúr.

Kokrah was known at the Mughul Court for its diamonds, and it is evidently this circumstance which led the generals of Akbar and Jahángír to invade the district. I have found two notices of Kokrah in the *Akbarnámah*, and one in the *Tuzuk i Jahángírí*, from which it appears that Chutiá Nágpúr was ruled over in A. D. 1585 by Mádhú Singh, who in that year became tributary to Akbar. He was still alive in A. D. 1591, when he served under Mán Singh in the imperial army which invaded Orísá. The third notice refers to the year A. D. 1616, the 10th year of Jahángír's reign, when Rájah Durjan Sál was rather roughly handled by Ibráhím Khán Fath-jang, the then governor of Bihár.

The extracts are—

From the *Akbarnámah* (Lucknow Edition, III., p. 491). “About the same time (end of 993, A. H., or A. D. 1585, 30th year of Akbar's reign), Shahbáz Khán Kambú sent a detachment to Kokrah. Kokrah is a well cultivated district between Orísá and the Dak'hin. It is ruled over Mádhú Singh. As the country is inaccessible, he thought that he was safe, and assumed an independent attitude. Our men, however, entered the district, and carried off much plunder. The Rájah became tributary (*málguzár*), and was thus fortunate to get under the shadow of the imperial government.”

From the same work, p. 641, 37th year, or A. D., 1591 (end). “Mádhú and Lak'hmí Rái of Kokrah also served in the detachment commanded by Yúsuf Chak Kashmírí.”

This detachment consisted of the contingents of South Bihár and Western Bengal Rájahs, and marched, in the 37th year of Akbar's reign, over Jhárkhand to Mednípúr (Midnapore), where they joined the imperial army under Mán Singh for the conquest of Orísá.

Tuzuk i Jahángírí (p. 155). “On the 3rd Isfandiármuz of the 10th year of my reign (A. D., 1616 ; Çafar, 1025) it was reported to me

[Jahángír] that Ibráhím Khán* (governor of Bihár) had overrun Kokrah, and taken possession of its diamond washings. This district belongs to Çúbah Bihár, and the river which flows through it, yields the diamonds. When the river contains little water, tumuli (*gorábhá*) and hollows (*ábkanhá*) are formed. The diamond diggers know from experience that chiefly those tumuli contain diamonds over which insects hover, called by the Hindús *jhíngah*.† They pile up stones on all sides of the tumuli, and then cut into them with hatchets and chisels, and collect the diamonds from among the sand and the stones. Sometimes diamonds are found of the value of a lac of rupees each."

"The district and the diamond river are in the possession of the Zamíndár Durjan Sál. The governors of Bihár sent frequently detachments into Kokrah; but as the roads are fortified and the jungles impenetrable, the governors were generally satisfied with a tribute of two or three diamonds."

"When I appointed Ibráhím Khán governor of Bihár, *vice* Zafar Khán, I told him, at the time of departure, to invade the district, and drive away the unknown petty rájah."

"No sooner had Ibráhím entered on his office, than he prepared himself to invade Kokrah. The Rájah according to custom sent a few diamonds and elephants; but Ibráhím was dissatisfied, and invaded the district before the Rájah could collect his men. When he received the news of the invasion, he was in fact already besieged in the pass (*kohdarah*) where he used to reside. Some of Ibráhím's men who had been sent out to look for him, found him with several persons, among them his mother, another wife of his father, and one of his brothers, concealed in a cave. They were

* Ibráhím Khán was the younger brother of Núr Jahán; *vide* Aín translation, p. 511. Regarding Shahbáz Khán Kambú and Yúsuf Chak Kashmírí, mentioned a little above, *vide* Aín translation, pp. 399, 478.

† The rare Hindústání Dictionary, entitled *Nawádir ul Alfáz*, by the renowned Sirájuddín 'Alí Khán Árzú (Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1868, pp. 27, 70) says—*Jhíngá* is a small animal which lives in the water, and is called in Arabic *jarád ulbahr* ('water locust'), or *irbián*." This dictionary contains strictures on the Hindústání Vocabulary entitled *Gharáib ullughát* by the excellent grammarian 'Abdul Wási' of Hánsí, whose work Sir H. Elliot used for his Supplementary Glossary. Elliot generally calls it the "*Risálah*."

Forbes in his dictionary translates *jhíngá* by "shrimp, a prawn," evidently against native authorities. An insect seems to be meant, as may perhaps also be seen from the word *jhíngar*, a cricket.

deprived of the diamonds in their possession. Twenty-three elephants besides were taken.”

“As reward I made Ibráhím a commander of 4000, 4000 horse, and gave him the title of *Fath-jang*, and promoted all others that had shewn courage on the occasion to suitable posts.”

“The district is now subject to me. All diamonds found in the river are forwarded to court. Only a few days ago, a diamond arrived which had a value of 50,000 rupees, and I hope many more will be added to my store of jewels.”

The diamond river alluded to is the Sank (spelt *Soank* by Renel, and *Sunk* on our maps).

Col. Dalton kindly sent me the following extracts from a history of the Mahárájahs of Chutiá Nágpúr, of which he possesses a MS. copy; but the names of Mádhú Singh and Lak’hmí are not given among the names of the Rájahs. Durjan Sál is mentioned as the 45th Rájah. Col. Dalton says:

“The 44th Rájah was Bairí Sál. He went to Dihlí, and accompanied the emperor Muhammad Sháh (?) in various expeditions of his against new countries. Having broken the chain of an elephant (an exhibition of strength, I suppose), he by this exploit and other means pleased the emperor, who was also made acquainted with the history of Mahárájah Phaní Mukuta; and he rewarded Bairí for his good services with dresses of honour and valuable gifts. Parganah Sherg’hátí was also conferred on him, after which Bairí dwelt at Doisá, where he constructed a suitable residence, and died after a reign of fourteen years.”

“The 45th king was Mahárájah Durjan Sál. In consequence of his having failed for several years to pay his tribute to Dihlí, Nawáb Ibráhím Khán came from that city with 2000 cavalry and other troops. Durjan Sál was defeated, captured, and thrown into prison. He offered as ransom jewels, gold, and silver, to the value of 84 krors of rupees, but the Nawáb Çáhib would not release him. The Rájah and his offering were taken to Dihlí, where he was again fettered and sent to Gwáliár Fort, and kept in durance for twelve years. Other Rájahs were imprisoned in the same place.”

“It happened that from some place two diamonds were brought

to the emperor, and the jewellers who tested them, pronounced the best of them to be impure, and a flawed diamond they declared to be sound. The emperor therefore called for Durjan Sál, who was a great judge of diamonds. He pointed out the flaw (*bál*, pr., hair), and to prove that he was right, he tied the diamonds to the ends of the horns of a ram, made the animal fight with another ram, when the diamond with the flaw split, and the *bál* became apparent. The other diamond remained uninjured. The emperor was so pleased, that he pardoned Rájah Durjan Sál, released him, and restored all the property that had been taken from him. In parting with the emperor, Durjan Sál was permitted to make any request he pleased. Durjan on this clasping his hands as a suppliant begged that all the Rájahs who were imprisoned with him, might be released. This was acceded to, and the emperor gave the Rájah permission to crave another boon. He begged that his former rank might be restored him, including the right to sit on a chair in the presence of the emperor. This also was awarded."

"It was then settled that the Rájah of Kokrah should pay a tribute of 6000 rupees annually, and the title of Sháh* was conferred on him."

* This is a myth; for the title of *Sháh* is a Muhammadan title, and no Muhammadan title, not even the title of Khán, was ever *conferred* on a Hindú. Besides, the title of Sháh according to the Dihlí ceremonial code was limited to princes.

The kings of Dihlí before Bábar styled themselves *Sultáns*, both before and after the downfall of the Khalífahs of Baghdád, who by the whole Muhammadan world were looked upon as 'the fountain of all honours and titles.' The princes had titles as KhánKhánán, Khán Jahán, Ulugh Khán, Ikit Khán, Bárbak, &c. The Amírs had the title of *Malik*. With Bábar the code was altered. He and his successors styled themselves *Pádisháh*, and the lower title of *Sultán* was given to the princes, whilst the sons of princes were styled *Sháhzádah*. A few princes received for meritorious services the title of *Sháh*, as Khurram and Muhammad Mu'azzam. The title of Sultán, in the masculine form, was also extended to princesses, the word Begum being placed after the name, as Sultán Nisár Begum. The daughters of princes had the title of *Sháhzádah Begum*, or merely Begum. The principal queen, before the Mughul rule, had the title of *Malikah*, and under the Mughuls that of *Pádisháh begum*. The Amírs under the Mughul rule received personal titles from the Emperors, the titles of KhánKhánán and Khán Jahán being looked upon as the two highest titles. It is erroneous to believe that KhánKhánán means Commander-in-chief. The word Nawáb (properly *Nurwáb*) was a title, or rather an epithet, used in common parlance; but there is no example on record that the Court of Dihlí—certainly not before Aurangzib and Bahádur Sháh—ever *conferred* the word Nawáb as a title. The title of *Khán* was most frequently conferred. The word *Bahádur* is

“I have not found out the other names. As Durjun Sál’s successor was Madhukár Sáh, he cannot be the Mádhú of Akbar’s times. It is strange that the proper name of the emperor should not have been known in Chutiá Nágpúr.”*

The fact mentioned by Col. Dalton that Durjan Sál was imprisoned for some time is confirmed by an accidental remark in the Tuzuk, p. 236, where Jahángír, three years after the conquest by Ibráhím Fath-jang, in speaking of the diamond mines of Kokrah, says, “The zamíndár is still in prison.” There may even be a grain of truth in the recall of Durjan from prison to test some diamonds, because on p. 244, Jahángír says that the diamonds which Ibráhím Khán had brought from Kokrah had been given to the grinders; “they were now submitted to me, and among them there is one which looks like a sapphire (*nílam*, the same as *nílmaní*). I have never seen a diamond of such a colour. It weighs several *surkhs* (*ratis*), and my lapidaries fix its value at 3000 rupees, though they would give 20,000 for it, if it were quite white and stood the full test.”

Of Rámgarh, I have hitherto found no notice in Muhammadan Historians. It must have been at an early time dependent on Bihár, because Chai Champá, according to the *Áin*, was a Parganah belonging to Bihár. It was assessed at 620,000 *dáms*, or 15,500 Rupees, and was liable to furnish 20 horse and 600 foot Zamíndárá troops.

Of Pachet, I have only found a short remark in the voluminous *Pádisháhnámah* (I., b., p. 317).

no title either, but, as in the case of Nawáb, was often used in common parlance and in letters; in fact we find it used after almost every title, from the princes down to the lowest courtiers. *Bahádur Khán* was a title, as Sher Afkan Khán, &c. *Khán Bahádur* is a modern title conferred by the British Government, which has thus changed the *epithet* ‘Bahádur’ to a title.

None of these titles were hereditary, and, if we except the title of Khán (without addition), no two courtiers had the same title. Thus if a courtier had the title of Bahádur Khán, no other courtier had the same; only on the death or dismissal of a Bahádur Khán could the title be conferred on another grandee.

The title of *Beg* was never conferred under the Mughul rule. It is a Turkí title, and was looked upon in India as lower than *Khán*.

I trust, I shall be forgiven this long diversion which has nothing to do with Chutiá Nágpúr; but the opinions of our historians are rather hazy on this subject.

* Babu Rakhal Das Haldar mentions a Rájah Raghunáth, who according to inscription on p. 109 reigned in Chutiá Nágpúr in 1665, A.D.

“Bir Naráin, Zamíndár of Pachet, a country attached to Çúbah Bihár, was under Sháhjahán a commander of 700, 300 horse, and died in the 6th year (A. H. 1042-43, A. D. 1632-33).

Short as the remark is, it implies that Pachet paid a fixed *pesh-kash* to Dihlí.

But the *Pádisháhnámah*, and the '*Álamgírnamah*, a detailed history of the first ten years of Aurangzíb's reign, contain three longer notes on Palámau, which are of some interest. The former work spells the name of Palámau *پالامون*, *Palámaun*; the latter has *پالاون* *Paláwon*.

According to the *Pádisháhnámah*, in 1641, when Sháistah Khán was Sháhjahán's governor of Bihár, the Rájah of Palámau was Pratáb, son Balbhadra, who is called a Chero. The Cheros, like the Kharwárs, are a Kolarian tribe, to whom Buchanan attributes numerous monuments in Bihár.

The word Chero is spelled by Muhammadan historians *چروہ* *Charoh*, *چيروہ* *Cheroh*, and *چيرو* *Chero*. The earliest notice of Cheros, I believe, is to be found in the *Tuhfah i Akbarsháhi*,* a history of the Súr Dynasty, written during the reign, and apparently at the command, of Akbar. From this work we see that a Chero Rájah of the name of Mahárta (مهارت) gave Sher Sháh some trouble. He sent his general Khawác Khán against him, who attacked the Rájah and killed him. This took place immediately before the battle of Qannauj (10th Muharram, 945, or 8th June, 1538, A. D.) Unfortunately, it is not stated whether Mahárta reigned in Palámau or any other part of Bihár. Abulfazl also mentions Cheros as the principal Zamíndárs (in 1590) in Chai Champá (Rámgarh) and Pundág (Palámau). *Aín text*, p. 418.

* The *Tuhfah i Akbarsháhi* was written by 'Abbás Khán Sarwání, son of Shaikh 'Alí Sarwání, and is divided into three *Tabaqát*, or chapters. *Chapt. I.* The reign of Sher Khán. *Chapt. II.* Islem Khán. *Chapt. III.* The successors of Islem Khán. The first chapter was translated into Urdú by one Mazhar 'Alí Khán, at the request of Capt. James Mowat (مويت Mouat, or Mowat?), and in the preface the Marquis of Wellesley and Lord Cornwallis are praised. The translation, which has the title of *Tárikh i Sher Sháhí*, is easy and flowing, and the MS. copy in the Society's Library is a very excellent MS. I have seen no copy of the original work.

Sháistah defeated Rájah Pratáb in several engagements, and in February, 1642, Pratáb submitted, and became a vassal on payment of 80,000 rupees as *peshkash*.

Pratáb, after this, is said to have lost the affections of his people, and a party conspired against him, led by his paternal uncles Daryá Rái and Tej Rái. They prevailed in 1642, or 1643, on I'tiqád Khán, Sháistah's successor, to connive at Pratáb's deposal. The governor agreed on the condition that Pratáb should be sent to Patna. Tej Rái then imprisoned Pratáb, and mounted the guddee. But he, too, failed to give satisfaction, and Daryá Rái, his elder brother, and other Chero chiefs, complained of him to the governor, who moreover felt annoyed that Tej Rái had not sent Pratáb to Patna. They asked I'tiqád Khán to send a corps into Palámau, and promised to hand over Fort Deogan. The principal forts of district were Kot'hí, Kundah, Deogan, and Palámau itself. I'tiqád now sent a strong force under Zabardast Khán, to whom Deogan was surrendered. But before he could march on the capital, a party set Pratáb at liberty during Tej Rái's temporary absence from Palámau on a hunting expedition. Tej Rái and his party had to fly to the jungles; Pratáb made peace with Zabardast Khán, and ultimately paid his respects at Patna. At the recommendation of the governor, Sháhjahán made him a commander of 1000, 1000 horse, and Palámau was given him a *tuyúl*. The *jama'* was fixed at 1 kror of dáms, or 250,000 rupees, and the Rájah had to pay 1 lac of rupees as *peshkash*.

From the list of Sháhjahán's grandees (*Pádisháhnámah* II., p. 733) we see that Pratáb was still alive in A. D. 1647.

The following is a translation of the extracts.

First Invasion of Palámau in A. D. 1641-42.

Pádisháhnámah, II., 248 to 250. Palámau lies south of Patna, the distance from the latter place to the northern boundary of the former being 25 *kos*. The distance of the fort where the zamíndár of the district resides, from the (northern) boundary is 15 *kos*. The short-sided rulers of Palámau trusted to their mountain fastnesses, which are difficult of access and full of jungle, and showed no signs of obedience to the imperial governor of Çúbah Bihár, as would have been proper.

Pratáb, whose family, generation after generation, had ruled over the country, an infidel like all his ancestors, had neglected to send the customary *peshkash* to 'Abdullah Khán Bahádur Fírúz-jang, the former governor of Bihár; and the Çúbahdár, engaged as he was in operations against the rebellious Partáb Ujjainiah [Rájah of Bhojpúr] had hitherto had no opportunity of bringing him to his senses. This made the Chero so haughty, that he also disobeyed Sháistah Khán, the new governor. Sháistah at last reported matters to court, and his Majesty [Sháhjahán] ordered the Çúbahdár to call in the contingents of the Jágírdárs of the Çúbah (the *Kumakí* troops), and drive away the zamíndár and "clear the country of the filth of his unprofitable existence."

Leaving his son Muhammad Tálíb with 500 horse and 1000 foot, as garrison in Patna, Sháistah marched on the 17th Rajab, 1051 [12th October, 1641, A. D.] with about 5000 horse, taken partly from imperial regiments and partly from his own contingent, and 15000 foot consisting of his men and zamíndarí troops, against that vain and misguided ruler. The march order was as follows—Sháistah commanded the centre (*qol*), which was made up of imperial troops; Zabardast Khán formed the vanguard (*haráwal*); Atash Khán Dak'hiní and several other officers commanded the left wing (*búranghár*); and others, the right wing (*juranghár*). Sayyid Mírzá, brother of Mukhtár Khán, with a few other officers, commanded the rear (*chandáwul*). Having made these arrangements, he set out for Gayá, which forms the boundary of the province of Patna and borders on Palámau, and entered the hostile territory. Wherever he pitched his camp, he had trenches dug, the earth of which was formed into a wall surrounding the whole of the encampment, and matchlock-men were placed as guards in the trenches, to frustrate night attacks. A large party was employed to cut down the jungle and make a road wide enough for the army to advance. All settlements on both sides of the road were plundered and destroyed. The wretched enemies withdrew on every occasion to the jungles and the hills, and trembled like victims in the hands of the butcher. The swords of the soldiers, swords of 'pure water,' delivered many 'unto the fire of hell;' others

escaped half dead with fright. Of our troops also some were wounded, and a few fell martyrs in this holy war. * * *

On the 5th Zí Qa'dah [26th January, 1642], the victorious army left the station Árú, and directed its march upon the north side of Fort Palámau. The enemies collected at a place where two roads crossed (*bar sar i duráhah*), but fled after a short engagement. As the fort was on all sides surrounded by impassable jungle, Sháistah Khán sent an officer of one of his own contingents with a party of navvies, hatchet-bearers, a detachment of matchlock-men, and archers, to cut down the trees and clear a spot for the tents. Having marked off a place near a garden close to the fort, they began to cut down the trees, when the enemies rushed upon them from all sides; but our men with God's assistance were victorious, and killed many of them. Sháistah, on hearing of the engagement, sent at once a detachment of imperial troops and of his own men to their assistance, and, together with Zabardast Khán, took up a position on the banks of a river, which flows below Fort Palámau. The enemies, covered by the houses outside the fort, fired upon him, and as a number of our troops suffered martyrdom, the men dismounted and occupied the summit of a hill which commands the Fort. The firing lasted till evening, and large numbers were killed and wounded. Pratáb saw the pluck of our troops, and convinced himself that there was no other help but to submit; he therefore sent a message, and offered to pay a *peshkash* of 80,000 Rupees, if he obtained free pardon, promising at the same time that he would never again in future rebel. He was so overawed, that he even engaged to pay his respects at Patna.

In consideration of the heat, and the approach of the rains, Sháistah Khán, at the recommendation of several loyal officers, accepted the proposal; and after receiving the *peshkash*, he returned on the 22nd Zí Qa'dah to Patna [12th February, 1642].

Second Invasion of Palámau, in A. D. 1643.

Pádisháhnámah, II., 356 to 361. Pratáb failed to secure the affection of his people, and offended his chiefs, who watched for an opportunity to get rid of him.

When I'tiqád Khán had been appointed to Bihár, he was waited

upon by Daryá Rái and Tej Rái, paternal uncles of Pratáb. They tried to obtain his favour, and proposed to imprison Pratáb and hand him over to the Çúbahdár. Both then returned to Palámau, and with the consent of others imprisoned him. Tej Rái was made Rájah. When the governor came to hear of it, he wrote to Tej Rái to hand over Pratáb; but Tej Rái put him off with subterfuges, and sent a Vakíl to him to make excuses.

Pratáb had been for some time in prison, when Daryá Rái, Tej Rái's elder brother, together with several other Chero chiefs, got dissatisfied with Tej Rái, whom they had made Rájah. The conspirators found support in I'tiqád Khán, who advised them to submit to the imperial government; and Daryá Rái and his party sent him a message to say that, if he would send a trusted officer with an army, they would hand over to him Fort Deogan, which is a great Thánah in the district of Palámau, and would, besides, do whatever he should tell them.

Upon this the governor of Bihár sent Zabardast Khán with the ruler of Sháhábád to Palámau.

On the 1st Sha'bán 1053, A. H. [5th October, 1643, A. D.] Zabardast Khán arrived at Deogan, and was waited upon by Daryá Rái, his sons, and the two commanders of Deogan, Bhowál and Champat, who handed over the fort. The Khán then sent Daryá Rái with some of his own men to I'tiqád Khán. The inhabitants of Deogan partly submitted and were promised the protection of the imperial government; but others rebelled and were imprisoned. Zabardast now appointed a party of men to cut down the jungle and widen the road that leads to Palámau, and commenced to repair and strengthen the fortifications of Deogan.

On the 11th of the same month [15th October, 1643], the Khán received intelligence that Tej Rái had sent his vakíl, Madan Singh Thakurái, and other chiefs with about 600 horse and 7000 foot to Báolí Chewan, a *mauza'* which lies about five *kos* south of Deogan, and that two other corps had been sent viâ Mordah and Kundah, and were ready to commence hostilities. A detachment of the first mentioned corps even advanced two *kos* nearer, with the object of making an attack by night. The Khán sent out a division to

oppose them; several of the hostile troops were killed, and the remainder fled.

On the 16th [20th October], I'tiqád Khán having heard of Zabardast's advance, ordered 'Abdullah Najm i sání, Bakhshí of Çúbah Bihár, to march, with Daryá Rái and a strong corps, to the support of Zabardast Khán, and prepared himself to follow, should it be necessary.

By the help of the good luck which so signally furthers the policy of the imperial government, it happened that on the 3rd Ramazán [5th November, 1643], Tej Rái left Fort Palámau with a hunting party. During his absence, Çúrat Sen and Sabal Sen, sons of the vakíl Madan Singh Thakurái, declared for Pratáb, took off his fetters, and having brought over the garrison, put him in possession of the fort. Some of Tej Rái's companions returned afterwards to Palámau and were let in, others fled, whilst Tej, who now stood between two fires, concealed himself in the jungles. Madan Singh Thakurái and two or three other chiefs who lay encamped in front of the imperial army, fled in the middle of the night with a great number of their men.

On receiving this information, Zabardast Khán left Dharnídhar, the Ujjainiyah, with a detachment of his own men as garrison in Deogan, and marched on the 5th Ramazán [7th November, 1643] upon Palámau. He passed through a dense jungle, forced several difficult passes, and arrived at Mángarh.

Pratáb seeing that resistance was useless, wrote to Zabardast Khán that the arrival of the imperialists was a deliverance sent him by God; he willingly submitted to the government, and would be glad to be allowed to wait on him. Zabardast had occupied Mauza' Bári, 3 kos from Palámau, and replied to Pratáb's message that the Rájah would have to come with him to I'tiqád Khán; if he should not like that, he ought to remember that the Bakhshí of the Çúbah was about to arrive with a strong corps, when escape would be impossible. Pratáb answered that when Sháistah Khán ere this had come with a large army to the walls of Palámau with the object of taking it, he had not been obliged to wait on him, Sháistah having contented himself with receiving the *peshkash*, when he returned; he had no objection to wait on

Zabardast Khán; but as none of his illustrious predecessors who had been rulers, had ever gone to Patna, he could not promise to go there. Zabardast, in reply, said that he would have either to go to Patna or perish. After several other messages, Pratáb declared himself willing to go to Patna, though it be, he said, against the wishes of his party; but he requested Zabardast to give him a letter of safety and promise him that he would do him no harm.

This Zabardast agreed to, and Pratáb had an interview, at which he gave the Khán an elephant. As he was still willing to go to Patna, Zabardast asked I'tiqád Khán to send him a letter of safety, and wrote to 'Abdullah Najm i sání that, as Pratáb had submitted, it was no use for him to advance beyond where he stood, since Zabardast himself was on the point to return.

On the 17th Ramazán [19th November, 1643], Zabardast left Palámau accompanied by Pratáb, and on the 22nd joined 'Abdullah Najm i sání at Deogan, from where both marched to Patna.

Pratáb presented I'tiqád Khán with an elephant, and agreed to pay into the imperial treasury a *peshkash* of one lac of Rupees, which Zabardast was to receive. I'tiqad then sent a detailed report to court, and recommended Pratáb for a mançáb. Thereupon his Majesty appointed Pratáb a full commander of 1000 horse; the *jama'* of Palámau was fixed at 1 kror of dáms [250,000 rupees], and the district was left him as *tuyúl* [Muharram, 1054, or beginning of March, 1644, A. D.].—

The *Pádisháhnámah* records no further conflict between the Mughul government and Palámau. From a remark on p. 733 of the second volume of that work, we see that Pratáb was still alive in 1057, or A. D. 1647.

The following extracts are taken from the '*Álamgírnamah*' (pp. 648 to 660; 673, 972). The translation is not literal; for the ornate style of the work renders a close version undesirable.

Third Invasion and Sack of Palámau, in A. D. 1660.

Page 648. The heathenish zamíndárs of Palámau trusting to the inaccessibility of their country had not only shewn neglect in paying the stipulated *peshkash*, but had also encroached on imperial lands adjacent to their country. When therefore Dáúd Khán,

governor of Bihár, had returned from the expedition to Bengal, and had brought several other refractory zamíndárs to their senses, his majesty [Aurangzíb] ordered him to invade Palámau. The jágírdárs and faujdárs of Bihár were at the same time ordered to place themselves and their contingents under his orders.

On the 2nd Sha'bán of the same year in which he had subjected other rebellious zamíndárs [2nd Sha'bán, 1070, or, 3rd April, 1660], Dáúd marched upon Palámau, accompanied by Mírzá Khán, Faujdár of Darbhanga, Tahawwur Khán, Jágírdár of Chainpúr, Rájah Bihrúz,* zamíndár of Munger, and other officers of the Qúbah.

Palámau lies 40 *kos* south of Patna, the distance of Patna to the frontier of Palámau being 25, and that of the frontier from the residence of the Rájah, 15 *kos*. The district has two stone forts, one on the top of a mountain, the other on even ground near a large river. The whole country is very mountainous and full of jungle. Besides, there are three other forts near the Bihár frontier, *viz.* Koṭ'hí, which lies 25 *kos* from Palámau; Kundah, 7 *kos* from Koṭ'hí, to the left of it; and thirdly Fort Deogan, at a distance of 10 *kos* from Koṭ'hí, to the right. During the reign of Sháhjahán, 'Abdullah Khán, and after him Sháistah Khán, had attacked Pratáb, son of Balbhadra, the Chero; but they had not annihilated the Rájah. Dáúd Khán contemplated the total subjection of the country, and first marched upon Koṭ'hí.

On the 5th Ramazán of the same year [1070 A. H., or 5th May, 1660], he reached Koṭ'hí. The enemies were so terrified by his unexpected arrival, that they deserted the fort, and Dáúd took possession of it. He then moved to Kundah. This fort is very strong and lies upon a hill. Though only 8 *kos* from Koṭ'hí, the road to it passes through dense jungle, and half way there is a high hill and a difficult pass. The trees therefore had to be cut down to a distance of one *kos* from the fort. The determined advance of the imperialists frightened the enemies from this fort, too, and on the 4th Shawwál, [1070; 3rd June, 1660] Dáúd took possession of it, and razed in a short time the

* Bihrúz of K'harakpur. *Vide* Proceedings, A. S. Bengal, for December, 1870, p. 307.

fortifications to the ground. As the rains were setting in, he erected between Koṭ'hí and Kundah, at every third *kos*, fortified encampments, placing in each 100 horse, and a detachment of matchlock-bearers and zamíndári troops, so that provisions might safely be sent from Bihár to head quarters.

When the rains were over, he set out for Palámau, without paying attention to proposals made by the Rájah to accept a *peshkash*, and return to Patna. On the 1st Rabí' I., of this year, [A. H., 1071, or 25th October, 1660] Dáúd commenced his march. Mírzá Khán, with 300 horse and 200 matchlock-bearers, formed the van; Tahawwur Khán, with 700 horse and 300 foot, held the right wing; Shaikh Tátár, son of Dáúd's brother, with 500 *tábínán** horse, and Rájah Bihrúz, with 400 horse and 1500 foot, commanded the left wing; whilst Dáúd Khán in person occupied the centre with 2000 horse. He also told off 500 horse of his own contingent to form the rear. Besides, a strong detachment of hatchet-bearers was appointed to cut down trees and clear the road to Palámau. During the march, Dáúd erected at suitable places thánahs and garrisoned them. He advanced most cautiously, and passed during the first nine days over only 10 *kos*.

On the 9th Rabí' I., [3rd November, 1660], he reached Mauza' Narsí [Tarhasí], which lies 7 *kos* from Fort Palámau. The Rájah had during all this time repeated his futile proposals, and when Dáúd reached Narsí [Tarhasí], he was again waited on by Çúrat Singh, † the Rájah's minister, who promised unconditional submission. The vakíl especially addressed himself to Rájah Bihrúz, and begged him to intercede, proposing to pay one lac of Rupees as *peshkash*, and a present of 50,000 Rupees for Dáúd. The humility of the Rájah and his urgent solicitations to obtain peace, made Dáúd so far favorably inclined to his proposal, that he sent a report thereof to court, suspending hostilities till the arrival of his Majesty's orders. During the armistice, the enemies intercepted a convoy at a place about 8 *kos* from the imperial camp; and though the

* The *tábínán* are the troops recruited by the Imperial mançabdars, for which they receive a *tuyúl*. They are opposed to the *Pádisháhi* troops, who form the standing army.

† Evidently the same as mentioned on p. 123. The name of the then Rájah is not given in the 'Álamgírnamah. Regarding Narsí *vide* below.

Rájah sent the vakíl to express his regret at the untoward event which, he said, had taken place without his knowledge and sanction, and tendered 50,000 Rupees as part payment of the stipulated *peshkash*, Dáúd thought it advisable to advance, left Tarhasí on the 8th Rabí' II., [1071, or 1st December, 1660] and pitched his camp at the foot of a hill, 3 *kos* distant from Palámau. On the 16th [9th December], he moved one *kos* nearer. The enemies then advanced from the fort, threw up earthworks, and occupied the trenches in large numbers.

About the same time, orders came from court: the Rájah was to embrace Islám, pay *peshkash*, and remain in possession of his country; if he refused, Dáúd was to annihilate him, destroy the forts, and annex the district. His Majesty's answer was then conveyed to the Rájah. Before he had replied, Tahawwur Khán, on the 24th Rabí' II., [17th December, 1660], unable to suppress his eagerness to fight, attacked the enemies without the knowledge and sanction of Dáúd Khán, and engaged them near their earth-works.

Dáúd was thus obliged to push forward, and advancing within the reach of the enemy's bullets, threw up earth-works and commenced a bombardment, which was continued till sunset. The fighting on both sides was obstinate. Tahawwur Khán, who was nearer to the enemies, had 16 men killed, and 50 men and many horses wounded, and retreated, towards evening, at Dáúd's orders, upon the centre. During the night, the enemies brought two large guns from the fort, placed them on the earth-works, and managed to kill several of our men and horses. The Rájah also sent a message to Dáúd to say that he refused to accept his Majesty's conditions. The fire of the enemies did in the meantime much damage, directed as it was from an eminence on Dáúd's trenches, which were much lower. He, therefore, occupied the hills which command the fort, threw up new earth-works, placed upon them several guns, and commenced a well directed cannonade.

On the 27th Rabí' II., [20th December, 1660] the enemies could no longer hold their trenches, retired nearer to the fort to the banks of the river, and threw up new earth-works. The space between their position and the imperial camp being overgrown with jungle, Dáúd for two or three days cut down the trees, and

having cleared a road, advanced against the enemies. Shaikh Tátár and Shaikh Ahmad, both sons of his brother, with troops of his contingent, several imperial Mançabdárs, and the son of Rájah Bihrúz with his followers and a detachment from Mírzá Khán's contingent, were placed on the left, and were ordered to attack the enemy from the passes; Shaikh Çafí with a division was sent to the right; and Dáúd Khán, Mírzá Khán, Tahawwur Khán, Rájah Bihrúz, Abú Muslim, Sayyid Najábat, and several Mançabdárs, formed the centre. The attack was simultaneously commenced on all three sides, and the ground was warmly contested till the second watch (midday). The enemy was repulsed on all points; many were shot and cut down, and others escaped. It had been Dáúd's original plan to occupy the trenches dug by the enemy; and commence a siege, but the soldiers could not check their fury, and rushing to the river,* they crossed it, and attacked the fortifications which surround the town (*skahrband*) at the foot of the fort. The enemies got bewildered and withdrew to the higher fort. The Rájah now sent his whole family and valuables to the jungles, and continued the defence. The imperialists in the meantime had taken the lower fortifications, and stood before the gate of the upper fort, where the fight raged till the first watch of the evening. Half a watch later, the Rájah fled to the jungles, when the whole fort was occupied by the victorious army.

The town was cleared of the 'filth of the existence of the infidels,' their idol temples were destroyed, and Islámitic prayer filled the place.

The loss of the Imperialists was 61 killed, and 177 wounded. Of the enemies a large number was slain and wounded, some escaped, and others were taken prisoners.

A few days later, it was reported that the enemies had assembled about Fort Deogan. Dáúd Khán despatched a division under Shaikh Çafí to retake the fort. On his arrival there, he laid siege to the place, and took it.

Dáúd remained for some time longer in the district, arranged financial matters, and fortified several strong places. He then

* The river Aurangá, a considerable mountain stream that joins the Koel at the Govt. village of Khetcki. Mr. Forbes tells me that the Dáúd's trenches are still in existence.

handed over the government to Mánklí Khán, who had been appointed by his Majesty Faujdár of Palámau, and returned to Patna.

*Page 673.** On the 15th Sha'bán [5th April, 1661], his Majesty inspected two elephants from the plunder of Palámau.

Page 973. On the removal of Manklí Khán, Palámau was placed under the immediate orders of Lashkar Khán, the new Çúbahdár of Bihár [Çafar, 1077, or August, 1666.]

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*Letter regarding the Mughul Invasions of Palámau, from L. R. FORBES, Esq., Extra Assist. Commissioner, Palámau. Communicated by COL. E. T. DALTON, C. S. I., COMMISSIONER, CHUTIA NAGPUR.*

The traditions of the Cheros regarding the Muhammadan invasion are, I think, very hazy indeed. They all know about Dáúd Khán and his doings, but few can go back further. I have got the following from the oldest inhabitant, the old Mowár of Monátú, who speaks, he tells me, from what he heard from his own father and grandfather and from the great grandfather of our minor. He says that it was in Sháh Jahán's time, about 1034 or 35 Façlí, that 'Abdullah Khán first made demands upon the Palámau Rájahs. He was engaged at the time in settling matters with Pratáb Singh Ujjainiah, a Rájput chieftain who held considerable territory in Bhojpúr. Pratáb was a Rájput who had come from Ujjain, a town, some say the capital, of Málwá, hence he was called Pratáb Ujjainiah. 'Abdullah, though unable to come himself, sent Mu'azzam Khán, the Rájah of Dumráon in Sahanśrám (Sasseram) forward as an advance guard, to clear the way and prepare a passage for 'Abdullah's troops. Mu'azzam Khán on getting to the small stream which lies at the foot of the Bhábulthán Ghát (*i. e.*, the Monátú Ghát) was met by Rájah Ghulám Husain, the Rohilah chief of the Kot'hí fort and a rebel, a fight ensued, and Mu'azzam was killed. The field, or piece of land, on which he fell is called the Mu'azzam Khání-k'het to this day. Mu'azzam Khán's force then returned.

\* It should be p. 665. There is a mistake in the paging of the Bibl. Indica edition of the *'Alamgírnamah*, page 664 is followed by p. 673, but there is no lacuna.